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ON THE TOPONYMY AND PROSOPOGRAPHY OF SOME MINOR MILITARY-ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS IN BYZANTIUM: KAS(S)E, *VINDAION, MAURON OROS*

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This paper[1] presents three lead seals issued by Byzantine officials who served in small military-administrative districts located in present-day Turkey. One of these areas, Kas(s)e, was in northern Kappadokia, the second one, *Vindaion (or *Vindaios), in Pisidia, and the last one, Mauron Oros, in Hatay, close to the border with present-day Syria (see fig. 1). Only the owner of the first seal was already known in bibliography, through the publication of other specimens.

The seals under examination share a common feature: they all mention place names that are relatively unknown and only very little information about them survived through other sources, mostly (though not exclusively) related to their ecclesiastical organization. All three seals were issued by military officials: two *strategoi* and one *tourmarches*. The key question that emerges therefore is whether these small districts (Kas(s)e, Vindaion, Mauron Oros) were *themes*, or simply fortresses or military garrisons under the command of a *tourmarches* or a *strategos*. Regarding Mauron Oros, we can be sure

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[1] I would like to thank Prof. Kay Ehling, Director of the Staatliche Münzsammlung München, for granting me permission to study and publish seals from the collection, as well as Prof. J.-Cl. Cheynet, who helped with the identification of the ex-Zacos specimens in the BnF. The maps are based on layers taken from d-maps.com. The seals were photographed by the author; the Staatliche Münzsammlung München holds the copyright.

that it was no *theme*, for the sources make it clear that a fortress was erected to control the passes from/to the city of Antioch. The other two names, Kas(s)e and Vindaion were registered as bishoprics for some time, the first one also being a *tourma*, that is a military unit (and area). Ascribing the term *theme* to an area in the 10th-11th c., though, presupposes much more than a simple bishopric or a fortress. Only if the military officials assigned to these posts were accompanied by civil officials, e.g. *kritai*, we could speak of a *theme*. At present, it is thus safer to label these three areas as military districts only.

Apart from a full description of the seals and some notes on the evidence they provide on the prosopography and administration, the paper offers a short commentary on the etymology of the place names mentioned in the legends.



Fig. 1. The three locations mentioned in the paper

1a. Konstantinos, *hypatos* and *strategos* of Kas(s)e

Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung 580

D. (total) 22 mm, W. 14,86 gr.

Ex M.-L. Zarnitz private collection (purchased from the auction Münz Zentrum (Rheinland) 78 (7-9 Sept. 1994), no. 802).



Fig. 2. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung 580 obverse



Fig. 3. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung 580 reverse

Parallels: a) Paris BnF Zacos 3551 (ex G. Zacos private collection);[2] b) unknown present location (ex R. Hecht private collection, sold through auction *Classical Numismatic Group Triton* XI, 8-9 Jan. 2008, no. 1184); c) W. Seibt private collection.[3]

Obv. Saint Eustathios (standing), holding spear (r. hand) and shield (l. hand); sigla not visible at all; border of dots barely visible.

[ʘ|ЄU|C–TA|ΘI|Ѡ,]

[Ὁ ἅ(γιος) Εὐστάθιω(ς)] - Ὁ ἅγιος Εὐστάθιος – Saint Eustathios

Rev. Inscription in six lines; border of dots barely visible.

+̣K̄ЄR̄Θ,|ḲѠNCTAN|ṬINỤΠ̣Ạ.|.CTPATỊΓ|ṬѠNKAC|.HNѠN|[– · –]

Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει)/Κωνσταν/τίν(ῳ) ὑπά[τ(ῳ)]/[(καὶ)] στρατιγ(ῷ)/τῶν Κασ/[σ]ηνῶν

Κύριε βοήθει Κωνσταντίνῳ, ὑπάτῳ καὶ στρατηγῷ τῶν Κασσηνῶν

Lord aid Konstantinos, hypatos and strategos of the Kassenoi.

Second third of the 11th century.

Seibt has long rightly reconstructed the owner's title on all the parallel specimens (and, therefore, also on the Munich specimen) as *hypatos*, not *patrikios*.[4] It is true that the V on the obverse of these specimens has the shape of U and the same could apply to the reverse. The photo of the ex-Zacos specimen is not clear and the one from Munich is rather corroded, but a closer look especially of the ex-Hecht collection specimen shows that it is clearly a U. The Seibt collection specimen is unpublished.

That the name Kassenoi was written with two Cs in the legend is assumed because on both the better preserved specimens from the ex-Zacos and the ex-Hecht collections, there is a lacuna with something that looks like traces of a letter on the bottom left corner, at the beginning of the last line on the reverse. Moreover, the fifth line has six letters, while

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[2] Zacos, 1984: 235, no. 425.
[3] Unpublished. Seibt, 2008: 821.
[4] Seibt, 2008: 821. Despite Seibt's remark, the owner of these specimens appears eroroneously as patrikios in the *PBW:* Konstantinos 20189 [1030-1060] and in Λεβενιώτης, 2007: 651.

the sixth has only four clearly visible letters which are not centrally aligned compared to the fifth line, thus destroying the symmetry. This means that there was another letter to the left of the sixth line and indeed the traces could be part of the upper and lower edges of a missing C.

Two seals issued by the same person (using the same *boulloterion*) at a later stage of his career in Kas(s)se, also depicting Saint Eustathios on the obverse, are known from Bulgaria. One was found in Preslav (Veliki Preslav, Museum of Archaeology 18555), the other is (or was) part of a private collection in Bulgaria.[5] Although the publisher suggested a reading of the fifth and sixth lines as "τον Κασ/ι(α)νόν", pointing to the family name Kasianos that really existed in the 12^{th} c.,[6] what we see on the reverse can be actually read as "Κύριε βοήθει Κωνσταντίνῳ, πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ, ὑπάτῳ καὶ στρατηγῷ τῶν Κασ(σ)ηνῶν". It is true, as Jordanov points out, that the inscription could indeed mention a family name. But the fact that in the same period there was a Konstantinos, serving as *strategos* of the Kas(s)enoi (only spelled differently), with Saint Eustathios on the obverse, strengthens Seibt's suggestion[7] that the seals from Bulgaria belonged to a *strategos* of the Kas(s)enoi (not "Kasianoi", as Jordanov wrote). Thus, the geographical name is clearly written as Kassenoi and Kasinoi (in genitive: τῶν Κασσηνῶν and τον Κασινον) in both Konstantinos' *boulloteria*.

According to Oikonomides,[8] this official could be identified with Konstantinos, *vestes* and *katepano* of the Lykandenoi (that is, of Lykandos), whose seal also depicts Saint Eustathios on the obverse: "Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει)/ τῷ σῷ δού(λῳ)/ Κων(σταντίνῳ) βέστῃ/ κε κατεπά/νου τ(ῶν) Ληκαν/δηνῶν".[9] To be sure, the *boulloteria* mentioning Kassenoi and Lykandenoi have one very particular feature which seems to strengthen Oikonomides' hypothesis on the identification of the person: the names Kassenoi and Lykandenoi are not geographical but "ethnical"

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[5] Jordanov, 2006: 193, nos. 289-290; Йорданов, 1993: 172-173, no. 360 [1030's-1050's].
[6] *PBW*: Alexios 17007; Alexios 20123; Anonymus 17071.
[7] Seibt, 1996: 136; Seibt, 2008: 821.
[8] Oikonomidès, 1986: 265.
[9] BnF Zacos 3540 = Zacos, 1984: 240, no. 437.

names referring either to the people or to the military units of the areas of Kas(s)e and Lykandos respectively. The formulas τῶν Λυκανδηνῶν and τῶν Κασσηνῶν have been used instead of τῆς Λυκανδοῦ and τῆς Κασ(σ)ῆς or Κάσ(σ)ης. This is not unusual in Byzantine writings. In Porphyrogennetos' text mentioned above, the name of the *theme* of Kappadokia is recorded as *theme* of the Kappadokai ("Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Καππαδοκῶν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Χαρσιανοῦ θέμα")[10] and, as we know well, the first and largest themes were named not after geographical areas, but after the military units stationed in them (Anatolikoi, Armeniakoi, Boukellarioi, Thrakesioi, Kibyrraiotai).

As a final remark on the name Kas(s)enoi, we would like to exclude from the group of seals attesting to this name a seal from Bulgaria, which (also to our view) records the family name Iasites. The letters pointing to this family name (especially the TH at the end of the inscription) are clearly visible.[11]

So far, thus, there is only one person who is recorded as being a military official in this area, although the existence of a *tourma* in the times of Leon VI (or even earlier and later) suggests that there was a *tourmarches* appointed there. Konstantinos' career, the only[12] known person to have served at Kas(s)e of Charsianon, in the Pontos area, can be reconstructed as follows:

- *vestes* and *katepano* of Lykandos

- *hypatos* and *strategos* of Kas(s)e

- *protospatharios*, *hypatos* and *strategos* of Kas(s)e

1b. Kas(s)e and the Kas(s)enoi

The whole issue about the status of the above-mentioned official is rather perplexing because of Seibt's hypothesis that there was a *theme* of Kassenoi ("Thema Kassenon")[13]. Still, he does not state clearly

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[10] Πορφυρογέννητος: 236 (50.108-109).

[11] On the reading "Iasites", see Jordanov, 2006: 160-162, no. 241; Йорданов, 1993: no. 369, contrary to Seibt, 1996: 136 ("Iasites keineswegs gesichert; wiedert ein Stratege τ. Κασσηνῶν?"), also in Seibt & Wassiliou, 2003: 197.

[12] Λεβενιώτης, 2007: 451-452, has accepted Seibt's reading of Kas(s)enoi instead of Iasites for Leon's seal. Moreover, he accepted the reading *patrikios* instead of *hypatos* and assigned Konstantinos' seals to two homonymoi officials, creating thus a list of three *strategoi* of the Kas(s)enoi. Based on the presence of a (non-existent) *strategos* of the Kas(s)enoi in Bulgaria (because of Seibt's suggestion), Leveniotes established a whole theory about this official in relation to the transfer of military forces from Asia Minor to the Balkans, against the Pechenegs and the Uzes.

whether he believes that this was one of the so-called “Armenian themes”, which remain – in any case – a difficult issue especially in what concerns their geographical location.[14]

To get back to our topic, there is absolutely no mention in the sources of a *theme* of either Kassenoi or of Kas(s)e. In fact, the only information we get about this geographical name, apart from the seals described above, comes from two sources. The first one is Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos' *De Administrando Imperio*, where one reads about the *tourma* of Kas(s)e (τοῦρμα Κασῆς).[15] Oikonomides was the first one to link the Kassenoi mentioned on the seals with this *tourma*, and to suggest that the latter could have been promoted to the seat of a *strategos* in the 11th c.[16] The second reference to Kas(s)e is found in the so-called *Notitiae Episcopatuum*, and will be discussed below.

Where was Kas(s)e located then? Apparently, somewhere close to the borders of the *themes* of Kappadokia and Charsianon. The so-called *Notitiae Episcopatuum* list two bishoprics with a similar name. The one, mentioned in several *notitiae*,[17] was in Pamphylia and is certainly not related to the one that we are interested in. The name, which is given as Κάσων, Κάσσων, Κασσῶν and Κασῶν (all in genitive, plural) in the various manuscripts, should be αἱ Κάσ(σ)αι in nominative (plural), and, perhaps, derived from an area full of sarcophagi (see Greek κάσα < Lat. casa, with semantic broadening). Indeed, Pamphylia (but also its neighbouring Lykia, with the border between them being not always clear) is full of places with numerous visible sarcophagi. In any case, this name should not be confused with the place name recorded by Porphyrogennetos in Kappadokia and Charsianon. Another toponym Kase is mentioned in a 7th century Armenian work. However, considering the context and Adontz's study,[18] this settlement should be farther to

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13 Seibt, 2008: 821.
14 Seibt, 1993: 134-141.
15 Πορφυρογέννητος: 236 (50.109-110).
16 Oikonomidès, 1986: 265.
17 Darrouzès, 1981: 208 (1.190); 222 (2.249); 236 (3.282); 254 (4.205); 277 (7.245); 298 (9.143); 314 (10.160); 356 (13.158). See also: Zgusta, 1984: 234 (no. 455-1).
18 Adontz, 1970: 40-42, 206*.

the East (in the area of Kars) and, therefore, not related to the Kas(s)e studied here, which should definitely be placed somewhere between Kappadokia and Charsianon, close to Ariaratheia. More similar names are to be found in Asia Minor in general and in the area of Kappadokia in particular. It is not clear whether a certain cave named Kasin (Κάσιν) was located within the area of Kas(s)e. It is very likely, though, that this is a coincidence and that the names are not related.[19] (on the name Kas(s)e and similar forms, see also below).

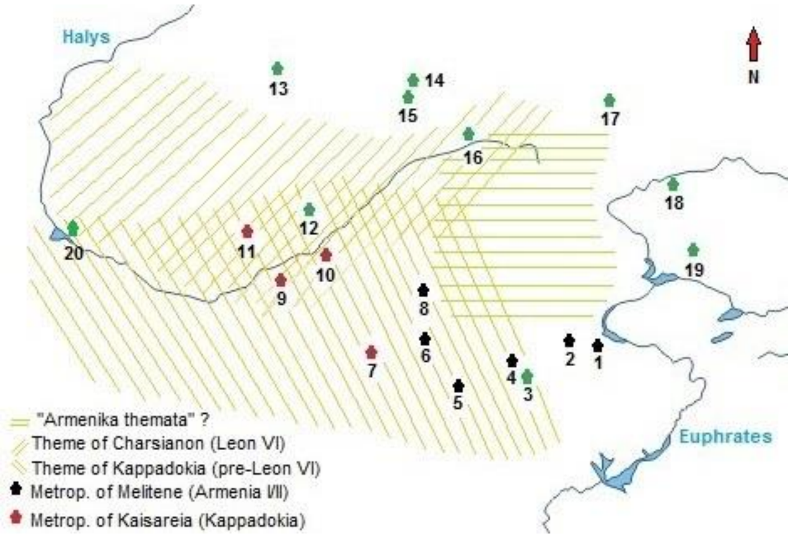


Fig. 4. Map of Charsianon - Kappadokia border area

Fig. 4. Map. 1.Melitene (Malatya); 2.Arka (Arga / Akçadağ); 3.Lykandos (Kalealtı ?); 4.Arabissos (Afşin); 5.Kokoussos (Göksun); 6.Komana of Kappadokia (Şar / Şarköy Ören Yerı); 7.Kiskissos (Yaylacık); 8.Ariaratheia (Pınarbaşı); 9.Kaisareia (Kayseri); 10.Kas(s)e (Bağyurdu / Efkere); 11.Kamouliana (Emmiler / Kemer); 12.Charsianon (Muşalikalesi); 13.Amaseia (Amasya); 14.Neokaisareia (Niksar); 15.Komana of Pontos (Gümenek / Kılıçlı); 16.Sevasteia (Sivas); 17.Koloneia (Şebinkarahisar); 18.Kamacha; 19.Chozanon; 20.Nyssa of Kappadokia (Harmandalı).

According to *De Administrando Imperio*, in the times of Leon VI (886-912 – the incident most likely happened in the early years of the 10th c.[20]), the *tourma* of Kas(s)e, until that time subject to the *theme* of

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[19] Λεβενιώτης, 2007: 449.

[20] Βλυσίδου & al., 1998: 270: "towards the end of the [9th] century". Of the same opinion is Λεβενιώτης, 2007: 449, following previous scholars: "at the end of the 9th century (ca. 890)".

Kappadokia, was placed under the jurisdiction of the neighbouring *theme* of Charsianon. These two *themes* emerged as a result of the division of earlier larger *themes*. Kappadokia was originally a *kleisoura* of the *theme* of the Anatolikoi, but around the 830's it was promoted to an independent *theme* under the command of its own *strategos*. It is very likely that some areas from the Armeniakoi were attached to this newly established *theme* of Kappadokia. Similarly, Charsianon (named after the homonymous fortress located in an area which was traditionally – in Antiquity and Late Roman times – also included in Kappadokia) was originally a *tourma*, later a *kleisoura* in the *theme* of the Armeniakoi, and, finally, by 873, an independent *theme*. These independent military-administrative units were created by extracting areas from one *theme* and by adding to them bordering areas from other neigbouring *themes*. Moreover, in the course of time, and especially from the reign of Michael II (820-829) onwards, the jurisdiction of these areas was expanding or contracting, depending on the military and political situation there (Arabic threat, excessive power in the hands of regional generals or influential families, etc.). The most extensive and radical changes were implemented by Leon VI, who reinforced the *theme* of Kappadokia in the West by adding areas and units previously belonging to the Anatolikoi (South) and the Boukellarioi (North).[21] The theme of Charsianon, to the North of Kappadokia, was also reinforced with areas and units from the Boukellarioi (Northwest) and the Armeniakoi (North).[22] These measures, which involved not only the above mentioned *themes* but also others, show that the Palace's policy was now directed towards the East, aiming at the strengthening of the eastern border.[23] However, the whole process was rather complicated and, sometimes, controversial. As far as the two areas discussed in this study (Charsianon, Kappadokia) are concerned, Charsianon obtained the *tourma* of Kasse, as well as the *topoteresia* of Nyssa from Kappadokia, apparently in an effort to strengthen the southern Halys river area. Whether the whole rearrangement is related to the fall of Hypsele to the Ar-

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[21] Πορφυρογέννητος: 236 (50.92-100).
[22] Πορφυρογέννητος: 236 (50.101-108).
[23] Βλυσίδου & al., 1998: 47-48, 302.

abs (887/888),[24] it is hard to say, but we do not believe that the loss of one fortress of this size alone would have led to such major changes in the administration of two large *themes*.

Moreover, it is true that Porphyrogennetos mentions Kaisareia among the areas that were extracted from Kappadokia to be subject to Charsianon, but perhaps we should not accept this information literally. Leveniotes[25] believes that Kaisareia was, indeed, part of the *topoteresia* of Nyssa, which was ceded to Charsianon. The expression that Porphyrogennetos used seems, however, to indicate that the important area was the *topoteresia* of Nyssa, and that Kaisareia was simply part of this *topoteresia*. However, Kaisareia was, at that time, one of the strongest cities in the East and the Emperor would not have referred to it as being subordinate to Nyssa.

Probably, the area of Kas(s)e was originally part of the Armeniakoi. On the basis of the information from the *Notitiae Episcopatuum* (about which see below), it seems that Kas(s)e was located somewhere close to Ariaratheia (Pınarbaşı), that is to the East of Kaisareia (Kayseri). In the 7th *notitia*, one reads: "ὁ Ἀριαραθείας ἤτοι Κάσης" ("The bishop of Ariaratheia that is of Kase").[26] The name of Ariaratheia as a city (modern Pınarbaşı) is well known from the sources. It is not clear, though, whether the *notitia* means that the city of Ariaratheia itself was also called Kase, or that the bishopric was named after Ariaratheia, but also after another city called Kase. The first option sounds implausible. Let us proceed then to the second one. We notice that, although the name of Ariaratheia appears in several *notitiae*, the name of Kase appears only once. This could possibly mean that at some time (and only then) the bishopric or Ariaratheia was named bishopric of Kase and the author of the *notitia* who was used to seeing the name of Ariaratheia in the lists, decided that it would be better for the reader to see the "traditional" name first, then the new one. Later, however, the name of the bishopric changed again into the older one, Ariaratheia. This could have been a good explanation, yet there is another issue which one must take into consideration: later in the same

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[24] Λεβενιώτης, 2007: 449.
[25] Λεβενιώτης, 2007: 437.
[26] Darrouzès, 1981: 274 (7.112).

notitia, the name Ariaratheia appears again, this time not in the area of Kaisareia, but in that of Melitene.[27] The explanation we provide is the following: there was the bishopric of Ariaratheia, in Melitene, which was later divided in two parts, one of which remained in Melitene, while the other was transferred to Kaisareia; it was this extracted part that was temporarily named Kase. The compiler of the list (*notitia*) though, knew the bishopric with its old name (Ariaratheia) as well, and therefore he recorded both names: "Ariaratheia that is Kase". If this is the case, then the transfer and renaming of this part must have happened not long before the compilation of the 7th *notitia*, otherwise it would have been of no importance to a later author to mention this detail. Moreover, since the name Kase does not appear in the next *notitiae*, it seems that Ariaratheia (in Melitene) either took back the area that was extracted in order to form the bishopric of Kase, or the latter was renamed again soon after its establishment. Indeed, Ariaraheia of Melitene is continuously mentioned in the *notitiae* 1 (pre-732), 2 (805-814), 4 (806-838), 7 (early-10th c.), 9 (946; revised in the 970's), 10 (late-10th – early-11th c.), and 13 (where, for the first time, more bishoprics appear in Melitene),[28] while Kase appears only once. It should be noted here, that there was no Metropolis of Charsianon, as well as that Charsianon's "capital" was at first Charsianon, then Kaisareia. Another explanation, less satisfactory, in our opinion, is that the seat of the bishop was temporarily transferred from Ariaratheia to Kas(s)e because the latter was less exposed to the Arabic threat.[29]

It is of particular interest that the time of composition of the 7th *notitia* coincides with the time when Leon VI rearranged the administration of that area. That is, from a military-administrative point of view, Charsianon obtained Kas(s)e from the *theme* of Kappadokia, while from an ecclesiastical and administrative point of view, the *metropolis* of Kappadokia obtained Kas(s)e from that of Melitene. Was that an act of requital towards Kappadokia? In any case, the name of the bishopric alone shows that, at least in the early 10th c., Kas(s)e was more than a

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[27] Darrouzès, 1984: 278 (7.272).
[28] Darrouzès, 1984: 222, 236, 255, 278, 299, 316, 357.
[29] Hild & Restle, 1981: 202. See also the comment by Zgusta, 1984: 235.

regional fortress, probably also the seat of the homonymous *tourma*. But what about the mid-11th c., when the seals presented above are dated? There is no reason to assume that Kas(s)e was a *theme*. The *strategos* of the Kassenoi could be either the commander of a regional fortress or small town (which is the case of several fortresses and cities after the mid-10th c. and especially towards the mid-11th).[30] As for his geographical jurisdiction, although (as argued above) the name mentioned on the seal originates from an ethnic one, it does not necessarily refer to a military unit alone or a *theme*, but it is, in our opinion, an expression chosen by the owner of the *boulloterion*, along the line of similar expressions such as the *strategos* of the Lykandenoi (and not of Lykandos, as one would have expected, on the basis of evidence from other sigillographic and non-sigillographic sources).

If we want to locate Kas(s)e on the map, we should look for an area between Kayseri and Malatya, most likely towards Kayseri, but also to the West or rather Northwest of Pınarbaşı. This would explain the ecclesiastical issue. The editors of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, based on old maps, have identified Kas(s)e with modern Bağyurdu (also known as Efkere), a rural settlement whose eastern part was formerly known as Palaia Kassiane (Beligesi) and the western as Nea Kassiane (Kesi or Gesi).[31] Judging from the names, the identification seems pretty much correct. There is no fortress is the area though, as one would expect to find.[32] Only churches and cave-churches have been spotted. An early *tourma*, perhaps, would not have needed a fortified place, but an 11th c. *strategia*, would not survive without one. What was so important, then, at Kas(s)e, to cause its promotion to a *strategia* (if not a *theme*)? Leveniotes saw this change as a reaction on behalf of the Palace to the increased presence and power or the Armenians in the area, and suggested that, probably, the new military contingent consisted of Greek soldiers only.[33]

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[30] Γρηγορίου-Ιωαννίδου, 2007: 50-55, 71, 80-84; Krsmanović, 2008.
[31] Hild & Restle, 1981: 202; Zgusta, 1984: 235 (no. 455-3).
[32] There are, however, several fortresses to the South of Kayseri (e.g. Zamantı – Melikgazi, Zengibar – Yeşilhisar, Şahmelik – Develi district).
[33] Λεβενιώτης, 2007: 450-451.

Finally, a note on the names. Kas(s)enoi simply means the people of/from Kas(s)e (see Rad-enos < Rade; Vospor-enos/-anos < Vosporos; Komn-enos < Komne etc.). This "ethnic" name is not unique. It is attested in Bithynia, as well as in Phrygia.[34] An early 4th century inscription found at Çakırsaz (between Kütahya and Afyonkarahisar) mentions a certain Zosimos Dionysiou Nana, who bears the "ethnic" name Kassenos (Ζώσιμος Διονυσίου Νανα Κασσηνὸς).[35] Again in Phrygia (Atty-Hisar, Synnada, modern Şuhut), on a Byzantine capital we read Κασζηνῶν.[36] In Bithynia, close to Nikomedeia (at Sapanca), we found the "village of Kassenoi" (Κασσηνῶν κώμη). Zgusta was puzzled about the name, which he ascribed either to a local name used as toponym or to a tribe, with the probability to be of Thracian origin, because of some names from Thrace with similar stem.[37] As we will show in a forthcoming study, there are several cases of habitation names (h.n.), which derive from the "ethnica" ("ethn.") of another habitation name, e.g. h.n. Aigialos – "ethn." Aigialites – h.n. Aigialitai; h.n. Parthenion – "ethn." Parthenites – h.n. Parthenitai. This shows that at some time a group of people from one settlement moved to another place and formed a new one, that was named after the founders' "ethnic". From this point of view, Kas(s)enos is the ethnic name of someone originating from a settlement called Kas(s)e and "Kassenon kome" was a village founded by people originating from a settlement called Kas(s)e.

In our opinion, the place names Κάσαι (plural)[38] and Κάση / Κασή[39] could have a different etymology. The first one perhaps derived from the Greek noun *κάσα* < Lat. *casa* (semantic broadening), while the second is either of the same etymology, or it came from the Latin term *cassis* (again through semantic broadening). Similar toponyms exist in other places as well, for example, Kasidi or Kasidiara (Κασίδι, το; Κασιδιάρα, η, formed through the genitive of the Latin), at Sounion, Attika, Greece. The name describes a treeless hill, reminiscent of a "bald" and

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[34] Zgusta, 1984: 236 (no. 457).
[35] Gibson, 1978: 59-63 (no. 25).
[36] Legrand & Chamonard, 1893: 287 (no. 90).
[37] Zgusta, 1984: 236 (no. 457, with map 146).
[38] Zgusta, 1984: 234 (no. 455-1, with map 145).
[39] Zgusta, 1984: 235 (no. 455-3).

clean helmet or head. This is the meaning with which the Latin term *cassis* is known in medieval (and modern) Greek. Otherwise, the Latin term originally meant a plumed helmet. Kas(s)e, apparently, was not a city. Perhaps it started as a small fortress on a hill and later a small settlement evolved around it or nearby, but its life was very short. No fortress has been found in the area though. It is true, though, that both hills located next to the modern settlement that corresponds to Kas(s)e are treeless. Another place name of Latin origin (from the term *colonia*) in the broader area was Koloneia (Şebinkarahisar).

Strategos of the Kas(s)enoi was the formula used by Konstantinos alone, repeating the *katepano* of the Lykandenoi used in a previous stage of his career. It means that he was in command of a military contingent rather than a whole *theme* and this case is much different from that of the names of the first *themes* mentioned above, which were named after the military units from the beginning, hence the names Ἀνατολικῶν, Βουκελλαρίων, Κιβυρραιωτῶν etc. (although some of them follow the same rule, that is the units were named after "ethnica" which derived from place names, e.g. Κίβυρ(ρ)α).

2. Vardas, *imperial spatharokandidatos* and *tourmarches* of Vindaion (?)

Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung 698

D. (total) 22 mm, W. 5,43 gr.

Ex M.-L. Zarnitz private collection (purchased from auction Münz Zentrum (Rheinland) 91 (4-5 Sept. 1997), no. 795).



Fig. 5. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung 698 obverse

Obv. Patriarchal cross, on three steps, flanked by fleurons; circular invocative inscription; double linear border with dots in the middle.

+KЄROHΘITѠ̣Ϲ̣Ѡ̣Δ̣OVɅ

K(ύρι)ε βοήθ<ε>ι τῷ σῷ δούλ(ῳ)

Rev. Inscription in six lines; border of dots barely visible.

+̣RĀP|.ĀR,CΠĀΘ|ĀPOKĀNΔI|Δ′STP̣OMĀ|PX′RINT|
Ọ.

Βάρ/[δ]ᾳ β(ασιλικῷ) σπαθ/αροκανδι/δ(άτῳ) (καὶ) τρομά/ρχ(ῃ) Βιντ(αί)/ο[υ]

Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Βάρδᾳ, βασιλικῷ σπαθαροκανδιδάτῳ καὶ τουρμάρχῃ Βινδαίου

Lord aid your servant Vardas, *imperial spatharokandidatos* and *tourmarches* of Vindaion.

Second quarter of the 10th c. This specimen is not unknown to scholars. It was presented in the *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, with the editors of the auctions list (W. Seibt and A.-K. Wassiliou) to read *tourmarches of the viktores* [*Βικτόρ(ων)*], a reading repeated in their edition of the Byzantine seals from Austria.[40] The *tourmarches of the viktores* (or *victores*) did exist and, so far, three relevant seals are known, dating from the second half of the 9th to the 10th c.: a) Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum Münzkabinett 526: Dionysios; b) Dumbarton Oaks, BZS.1958.106.393: Demetrios; c) ex-M. D. O'Hara private collection 10: Konstantinos. This office is also mentioned in literary sources.[41] It is interesting to note that in all three seals mentioned above the officials bear the title of *imperial spatharokandidatos*. This, together with the date of the specimen presented here, would easily lead us to identify this Vardas as *tourmarches of the viktores*, as Seibt and Wassiliou did.



Fig. 6. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung 698 reverse

There is, however, a serious doubt about the reading of the last word in the inscription (figs. 7-8). In the fifth line, we see clearly a R (i.e. B in this period) and a I. Then another letter follows, and then a T. The letter between the I and the T was taken for a K by Seibt and Wassiliou. Yet, the lines are too stretched for a K, which we can see in the third line and it certainly does not look like this one. It is not a X either (compared to the one to the left, in the same line). It seems that the closest, almost identical, letter is N, which is clearly visible in the third line. In this N, the diagonal (middle) line touches the left vertical bar very high, something that would not happen in the case of a K. Indeed, the K here is much different, with a long and thick line stretching up-right from middle of the vertical bar, and another one stretching down and right from the left side of the upper

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[40] Seibt & Wassiliou, 2003: 235 [second quarter of the 10th c.]; Seibt & Wassiliou, 2004: 319, fn. 440. W. Seibt (Seibt, 1999: 540: "War Konstantin vielleicht Strategos Viktoron (OVIK/)?") suggested the reading "strategos of the viktores" for the Dumbarton Oaks specimen BZS.1958.106.4510 (published in: Nesbitt & Oikonomides, 1996: 72 (no. 39.47) as "strategos of Opskion"). A close look at the inscription confirms the editors' reading as Opsikion. Many thanks go to Dr. Chr. Malatras for sharing with me this information.

[41] Seibt & Wassiliou, 2004: 319; *PmbZ* # 20776 (Vardas), 21510, 21550, 23789, 31252.



Fig. 7. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung 698 reverse (detail)



Fig. 8. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung 698 reverse (detail – drawing)

line, again at the middle of the vertical bar. In the letter of the fifth line there is only one diagonal (not two as in the case of K), stretching down and right from the upper side of the (left) vertical bar and touching almost the middle of a right vertical bar (which would never appear in a K), just as the N of the third line. Besides, in a K the main diagonal should go right and upwards, not downwards. Corrosion in this part of the seal does not seem to have affected the letter's form. It is a N, and not a K what we see in the fifth line, and thus one should read RINT, not RIKT. To compare, see the very clear K on the Vienna specimen. As for the last line, we see a broken letter that looks like an O (and, less probably, an E) and then only the upper part of a letter which could have been an V (or, less probably, an □). If one accepts the reading of Seibt and Wassiliou, then after the O follows a P. However, it cannot be a P, because there are two identical angle-shaped traces, one close to the other, resembling the upper part of an V (or, less probably, an H or N). It is known that in this period the V can have such angle-shaped upper edges, for example in the Dumbarton Oaks specimen BZS.1955.1.1533 (Malakinos *anthypatos patrikios imperial protospatharios* and *strategos* of Longovardia), which also presents a N similar to the one on the seal discussed here.[42]

The word after *tourmarches*, then, cannot be *viktores*. On the contrary, the letters RINTO[V] lead us to the name RINT(AI)O[V], that is *Vindaion (also recorded as *Bindaion in scholarly literature), a toponym in Pisidia, identified by L. Robert to modern Küçük Gökçeli, formerly called Findos, because of the similar phonetic of the latter.[43] In Ramsay and the *PBE* the toponym has been registered as *Bindaion (τὸ *Βίνδαιον, neutral), while in the *PmbZ*, the *TIB*, the *Barrington Atlas*, the Greek volume on the Asia Minor *themes*, as well as in Darrouzès' edition of the *Notitiae Episcopatuum*, as *Bindaios (ὁ *Βίνδαιος, male). Zgusta has also registered a place name *Βινδαῖος for Findos, although this form does not appear in any source (perhaps with the exception of one manuscript of the *notitia* 13 – see below –, preserving the form Βίνδου, which could be ὁ

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[42] Nesbitt & Oikonomides, 1991: 18 (no. 3.1).

[43] Belke & Mersich, 1990: 213; Zgusta, 1984: 122, no. 152; Robert, 1948: 402; Ramsay, 1895: 326; *Barrington Atlas*, 2000: 998. See also Βλυσίδου & al., 1998: 110, 520 (index).

*Βίνδος, a form closer to Findos, but also τὸ *Βίνδον). It is not clear in the sources that have recorded the form Βινδαίου / Βινδέου whether the name was neutral or male, because the genitive singular is common for both genders. Ramsay, who studied the ancient sources as well, did not comment on the gender. Zgusta, based on phonetics and, in comparison to the name Findos, opts for a male one. We give preference to the neutral (see e.g. Syll-aion, τὸ Σύλλαιον - τοῦ Συλλαίου, in Pamphylia), but the male is not excluded either.

In Byzantine times, the city of *Vindaion was mostly known as a bishopric (under the metropolis of the Pisidian Antioch) and it is included in several *notitiae* ("ὁ τοῦ Βινδαίου").[44] Prior to the *notitiae*, it is mentioned in the sources about the Quinisext Council of 691-692, which bishop Theodoros attended and signed as "ἐλάχιστος ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ Βινδαίου τῆς Πισιδῶν ἐπαρχίας".[45] Later, another bishop named Stephanos attended the Council of 879-880 ("Στεφάνου Βινδαίου").[46] It is interesting to note here that among the names of the bishops who participated in this Council, we find a certain Paulos who signed as bishop of the Vindaioi (people of *Vindaion or *Vindaios?), similarly to Konstantinos, who was *strategos* of the Kassenoi, not of Kas(s)e: ("Παύλου Βινδαίων").[47] The editors of the *PmbZ* assumed that the bishopric was represented to the Council by two bishops, which would have been unusual. Alternatively, though, it could be a reference to another bishopric of Vindaioi or *Vindaia (see, for example, the bishoprics of Germia in Phrygia and Germe in the Hellespont).[48] Whether there was another bishopric with a name similar to *Vindaion (or *Vindaios), we do not know and nothing further can be found in the *notitiae*. The last reference to this bishopric comes from a letter that Patriarch Nikolaos I Mystikos sent to the metropolitan of Antioch,

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[44] Darrouzès, 1984: 226 (2.456); 259 (4.408); 282 (7.468); 302 (9.351); 322 (10.408); 360 (13.415). The name is actually missing from the *notitia* 2, but the lacuna suggests it was there. In several manuscripts, it is spelled Βινδέου and once Βίνδου.

[45] *PmbZ* # 7349; *PBE*: Theodoros 65 (http://www.pbe.kcl.ac.uk/person/p7419).

[46] *PmbZ* # 27221. Mansi, 1772: 377B.

[47] *PmbZ* # 26310. Mansi, 1772: 377C.

[48] Mansi, 1772: 373C (Γερμίων) and 373D (Γέρμης). In this case, we know from the *notitiae* that these were two different bishoprics. The same applies to the names Antioch, Laodikeia etc. However, it is of great interest to note that every time similar names of bishoprics are included in the list of the Photian Council of 879-880, these are placed very close to each other, as if geography did not matter, which is indeed the case in this list.

where an anonymous bishop of Vindion is mentioned ("ἐπισκόπου Βινδίου"). The letter is probably dated between 913/914 and 918.[49] We could accept that there was once a second bishopric of a similar name, not only because of the example of Germe and Germia, but also because of several similar (yet not identified) toponyms in Pisidia and Galatia which may be linked to the names *Vindaion or *Vindaios. These are Βιδάνη (villa Bidana) in Pisidia, Οὐίνδια / Vinda in Galatia, Οὐίνζελα in Pisidia, and Οὐίνζελα / Binzea in Galatia.[50] The name Οὐινδικιανὸς, as well as the epithet Οὐινδιεινὸς (and other names from Bithynia and Scythia Minor), are certainly related to them, and it seems that they are all of Celtic etymology but adapted to Greek and Latin norms.

The *tourma* of *Vindaion (or *Vindaios) would have been one of the *tourmai* in the *theme* of the Anatolikoi in the first half of the 10th c., although probably it should not be related to the *tourmarches of Lykaonia and Pamphylia* (leg. Pisidia) mentioned in 899.[51] It is true, that the very few archaeological finds from the area of Küçük Gökçeli cannot provide any information about the status of the city in Byzantine times, either from the ecclesiastical or the military-administrative point of view. We would not be surprised, though, if the site which we presumably identify as *Vindaion (or *Vindaios) was continuously in use from Roman times or even earlier, as is the case of Mauron Oros (see below).

3. Symvatikios, *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Mauron Oros



Fig. 9. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung 461 obverse

Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung 461

D. (total) 31X25 mm, W. 17,08 gr.

Ex M.-L. Zarnitz private collection.

Obv. Saint Georgios (bust); sigla; border of dots barely visible.

[…] -Γ|ΗΟ|Σ - [Ὁ ἅ(γιος) Γεώρ]γηος - Saint Georgios

Rev. Inscription in five lines; border of dots barely visible.

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[49] *PmbZ* # 30969; Νικόλαος: 512 (182.23).

[50] Zgusta, 1984: 122 (no. 152), 459-460 (nos. 977-978), 549 (no. 1183-2). See also, *Barrington Atlas*, 2000: 964.

[51] Oikonomidès, 1972: 149, 343.

[…]|+CUṂ.|ₖIOCÂCΠ̣.|Θ,SCTPAT.|Γ̣TȣMAỤ.|.P̣Ụ

Συμ[β(ατί)]/κιος (πρωτο)σπ[α]/θ(άριος) (καὶ) στρατ[η]/γ(ὸς) τοῦ Μαύ[ρ(ου)]/[Ὄ]ρου(ς)

Συμβατίκιος, πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς τοῦ Μαύρου Ὄρους

Symvatikios, *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Mauron Oros.



Fig. 10. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung 461 reverse

Mid-11th c. The specimen is in a very bad state of preservation due to corrosion. On the obverse, we see the letters on the right side only. On the reverse, although the border seems to be closing at the upper left side, it is possible that what is barely visible at the beginning of the third and fourth lines are traces of letters (corrosion? double struck?). If indeed these are letters of this same inscription, then there is no symmetry. It is more likely that the inscription was stretching towards the other side. The name Symvatikios (sometimes in the abbreviated form of Symvatios) is almost certain, because of the combination of the letters, which does not match any other recorded name.

Mauron Oros is known as a place name and a military district. In Antiquity, it was called Amanos Mountains (Ἀμανὸς), but also Mauron Oros and Melantion Oros (Μελάντιον), that is “Black Mountain”, perhaps because of its dense forest area. In later times, it is also called Jabal al-Lukkām and Amanus. Part of the Amanos or Mauron Oros were the Pagrika Ore (Παγρικὰ Ὄρη). It is in Hatay area (to the north of Antioch – Hatay), in Southeastern Turkey, very close to the Syrian border.[52]

It seems that there was a small *theme* or rather a minor military district created in the times of Emperor Nikephoros II Phokas, probably with Michael Vourtzes appointed there as the first commander (*strategos*), in 968. His main duty was to control the northern outskirts of the important city of Antioch, which was under the Arabs at that time. Vourtzes erected there a fortress called Baghras – Παγράς,[53] which served as his base. According to an Arab author, the fortress pre-existed Vourtzes. Next year, however, in 969, after Antioch fell to the Byzantines,

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[52] Hild & Hellenkemper, 1990: 174-176. See also *Realencyclopädie*: 2315 (Pagrai 1).
[53] Yahya of Antioch: 816. See also Σκυλίτζης: 271.

Vourtzes was dismissed from Mauron Oros and it seems that the fortress was abandoned shortly after this event. It was probably revived in the times of Romanos IV (1068-1071), for a seal found in Lattakia (Byzantine Laodikeia, today in Syria) and mentioning a certain Kemales, *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Mauron Oros is dated in that period. Mauron Oros is mentioned for the last time in 1108, in the treaty between Emperor Alexios I Komnenos and Bohemond of Antioch.[54] Mauron Oros, thus, was not a proper *theme*, but rather a tiny military district consisting mostly of the fortress. The latter is identified as Bakras Kalesi, whose walls are still standing today.

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[54] On Vourtzes and the historical context, see: *PmbZ* # 25253; Cheynet, 2008: 341-342; Holmes, 2005: 332, 359-360, 376. On Kemales, see: Cheynet & al., 1991: 131 (no. 183); *PBW*: Kemales 20101. On the treaty, see: Ἄννα Κομνηνή: 419 (13.12.18).

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ON THE TOPONYMY AND PROSOPOGRAPHY OF SOME MINOR MILITARY-ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS IN BYZANTIUM: KAS(S)E, *VINDAION, MAURON OROS

Abstract: This paper presents three (unpublished or simply mentioned but not fully published) lead seals, currently kept at the Staatliche Münzsammlung in Munich, issued by Byzantine officials who served in small military-administrative districts located in present-day Turkey: Kas(s)e (mod. Bağyurdu) in northern Kappadokia, *Vindaion or *Vindaios (mod. Küçük Gökçeli) in Pisidia, and Mauron Oros (mod. Bakras Kalesi) in the Hatay area. In the author's opinion, these districts had, most probably, a purely military function and should not, thus, be labeled as *themes*. The paper offers also a brief commentary on the etymology of these place names and on the locations.

Key Words: Byzantine seals, prosopography, toponymy, administration, Kas(s)e, Vindaion, Mauron Oros

BİZANS'IN BAĞYURDU, KÜÇÜK GÖKÇELİ VE BAKRAS KALESİ'NDEKİ BAZI KÜÇÜK ÖLÇEKLİ ASKERİ YÖNETİM BÖLGELERİNİN TOPONOMİ VE PROSOPOGRAFİSİ ÜZERİNE BİR ÇALIŞMA

Özet: Bu makale günümüz Türkiyesi Hatay bölgesinde yer alan Bağyurdu, Küçük Gökçeli ve Bakras Kalesi' ndeki bazı küçük ölçekli askeri yönetim bölgelerinde görevli Bizans memurları tarafından tedavüle çıkarılmış, halihazırda Münih Milli Para Müzesi'nde muhafaza edilen (yayımlanmamış ya da yüzeysel bir şekilde bahsedilmiş fakat tamamen yayımlanmamış) üç kurşun mühürü takdim etmektedir. Yazara göre, bu bölgeler, büyük olasılıkla, yalnızca askeri işlev görmekteydi ve bu yüzden içeriklerine göre tanımlanmamalıdırlar. Makale aynı zamanda bu yerlerin isim ve konumlarına kısa bir etimolojik açıklama da sunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Bizans Mühürleri, Prosopografi, Toponomi, Yönetim, Bağyurdu, Küçük Gökçeli, Bakras Kalesi.